

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
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O 191435Z APR 75

FM U S MISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 2239

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 2751

FROM US DEL LOS, AMBASSADORS STEVENSON AND MOORE

FOR T-MR. MAW AND S/P-MR. LORD ONLY

STADIS/EXDIS////////////////////////////////////

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PLOS

SUBJECT: LOS: SPEECH TEXT

REF: (A) GENEVA 2657; (B) GENEVA 2675

1. SUGGESTED REVISIONS IN TEXT 4/17/75 PROVIDED TO US BY S/P
ARE GIVEN BELOW. OUR REVISIONS START ON PAGE 4 OF S/P 4/17/75
TEXT. LANGUAGE FOR EARLIER SECTION GIVEN IN REFTEL (B). NEW
REVISIONS IN TEXT OF 4/14/75 DRAFT ARE INDICATED AS FOLLOWS:

--WHEN A DELETION HAS BEEN MADE IN A SECTION WITH
NO OTHER CHANGES THIS IS INDICATED BY: ...DELETION...
--WHERE A CHANGE HAS BEEN MADE THIS IS INDICATED BY
A PARENTHESIS AROUND THE WORD OR WORDS, WHOLE SENTENCE OR
PARAGRAPH. WORDING WITHIN THE PARENTHESIS IS REPEAT IS
THE CORRECT LANGUAGE. ALL PARENTHESES SHOULD BE REMOVED IN
SPEECH TEXT.

2. COMMENTS ON DEVELOPMENTS IN THE GENEVA CONFERENCE
AND SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS RELEVANT TO SUGGESTED
SPEECH ARE BEING SENT SEPTTEL.

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3. BEGIN TEXT: ...DELETION... A SIGNIFICANT TEST OF

OUR WILL AND THE WILL OF NATIONS TO MEET THE CHALLENGES OF THE EIGHTIES IS NOW UNFOLDING IN GENEVA AT THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON THE LAW OF THE SEA. THERE, REPRESENTATIVES OF SOME 140 NATIONS ARE ATTEMPTING TO CREATE A COMPREHENSIVE, BROADLY ACCEPTABLE (CHARTER) GOVERNING THE USES OF THE OCEANS. THIS IS AN HISTORIC UNDERTAKING--THE MOST SIGNIFICANT ATTEMPT AT INTERNATIONAL LAW-MAKING SINCE THE FOUNDATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS THIRTY YEARS AGO.

LET US UNDERSTAND CLEARLY THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS CONFERENCE. THE OCEANS BOTH DIVIDE AND UNITE MANKIND. THEY COVER OVER 70 PER CENT OF OUR PLANET'S SURFACE AND DISTINGUISH US FROM ALL OTHER KNOWN PLANETS. THEY WASH THE SHORES OF MORE THAN 100 NATIONS, AND ARE THE (AVENUES BY) WHICH 95 PER CENT OF WORLD TRADE MOVES. (THEIR USES AND RESOURCES ARE BOTH A SOURCE OF GENERAL BENEFIT TO MANKIND AND OF POTENTIAL CONFLICT.)

BUT MOST IMPORTANT, THE SPEED AND SCALE OF THE IMPACT OF INDUSTRIALIZATION ON THE OCEANS RAISES UNPRECEDENTED OPPORTUNITIES (AS WELL AS CHALLENGING DIFFICULTIES.) VIRTUALLY EVERY ONE OF THE NEW PROBLEMS OF INTERDEPENDENCE WE CONFRONT IS REPRESENTED IN THE ISSUES INVOLVING THE WORLD'S OCEANS AND THE USES WHICH NATIONS WILL MAKE OF THEM.

RECOURSE TO THE POTENTIAL OF THE OCEANS MAY BE (ESSENTIAL):

--AS A SOURCE OF FOOD TO MEET THE BURGEONING NUTRITIONAL NEEDS OF MANKIND;
--AS AN UNTAPPED LODGE OF MINERALS AND RESOURCES VITAL TO THE WORLD ECONOMY;
--AS A SOURCE OF PETROLEUM (VITAL TO THE PRODUCTION OF ENERGY)... ...DELETION...
--AS A RESERVOIR OF WATER, AS WE MAKE PROGRESS IN DESALINIZATION;
--AND MOST FUNDAMENTALLY AS A SOURCE OF LIFE, LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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FOR THE OCEANS PROVIDE OVER 70 PERCENT OF THE EARTH'S OXYGEN.
BUT IN ADDITION TO FOOD, ENERGY, ECOLOGY AND RESOURCES, THE OCEANS PROVIDE A FOCUS FOR OTHER PRESSING ISSUES AS WELL:
--SECURITY (, AND)
--...DELETION...
--THE CREATION OF NEW INTERNATIONAL STRUCTURES

AND CHANNELS FOR COOPERATION.

... DELETION ...

(TODAY, THE EXPLOSION OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY HAS INTENSIFIED THE USE OF OCEAN SPACE. HIGHLY SOPHISTICATED FISHING FACTORY VESSELS NOW DOMINATE AREAS FORMERLY THE EXCLUSIVE DOMAIN OF SMALL FISHING BOATS IN THE COASTAL FISHERIES; OIL AND GAS WELLS CLUSTER IN OFFSHORE AREAS, AND DRAMATIC NEW INITIATIVES IN DEEP-SEA MINING ARE BEING PLANNED.) ALL THESE ACTIVITIES DEMAND RATIONAL MANAGEMENT TO ENSURE THE WORLD A STEADY AND CONTINUAL SUPPLY OF RESOURCES, AND TO PROTECT THE HEALTH AND THE QUALITY OF THE UNIQUE ENVIRONMENT FROM WHICH THEY ARE DRAWN.

ALONG WITH NEW CHALLENGES AND INTENSIFIED USES OF THE SEAS AND ITS RICHES, MANY COASTAL STATES, (IN SELF-DEFEATING COMPETITION, HAVE MADE UNILATERAL CLAIMS TO EXTENSIVE AREAS OF THE OCEAN.) (THIS PERSISTENT TREND IS IN DIRECT CONFLICT WITH THE TRADITIONAL LAW OF THE SEA.) ...DELETION...

(IT ALSO) THREATENS TO TURN THE OCEANS INTO (AN) ARENA FOR FUTURE CONFLICT AND CHAOS.

IN COMING YEARS, USE OF THE OCEANS IS CERTAIN TO INTENSIFY. WORLDWIDE SHIPPING TONNAGE IS EXPECTED TO INCREASE FOURFOLD IN THE NEXT 30 YEARS; WITH PROPER MANAGEMENT, FISHERIES PRODUCTION COULD GREATLY INCREASE IN 10 YEARS: AQUACULTURE IS LIKELY TO EXPAND; AND (INCREASING INDUSTRIALIZATION AND) SHIFTING POPULATION PATTERNS WILL PLACE NEW STRAINS ON THE ECOLOGY OF THE WORLD'S COASTLINES.

AN ENLARGED INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IS EX-LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PRESSING INCREASING, LEGITIMATE CONCERNS ABOUT THE USE OF THE OCEANS AND THEIR RESOURCES. TODAY THERE IS A CLEAR REQUIREMENT FOR A NEW INTERNATIONAL FRAMEWORK, COMPREHENSIVE, EQUITABLE, AND PRACTICAL, TO DEAL WITH ACCESS TO THE OCEANS AND THEIR RESOURCES.

THE ISSUES OF THE LAW OF THE SEA CONFERENCE AT GENEVA ARE OF VITAL CONCERN TO THE UNITED STATES AND TO ALL NATIONS. THEY INVOLVE:

--CONTINUED MOBILITY OF COMMERCIAL AND NAVAL VESSELS;

--(RATIONAL CONSERVATION AND MANAGEMENT OF FISH STOCKS;)DELETION...

--AVAILABILITY OF ENERGY AND RESOURCES;

--PROTECTION OF THE OCEAN AGAINST MARINE POLLUTION;

--FREEDOM TO CONDUCT SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH; (AND)
--(PROCEDURES FOR SETTLEMENT OF OCEANS DISPUTES.)
...DELETION...
(BASIS FOR AGREEMENT)

PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE. THE CONFERENCE HAS
BENEFITED FROM THE LEADERSHIP OF (STRONG AND CONSTRUCTIVE
CONFERENCE AND COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN). BUT THE EFFORT MAY
BE OVERTAKEN BY EVENTS. TECHNOLOGY IS PROGRESSING AT
A FASTER RATE THAN THE NEGOTIATIONS. ...DELETION...

THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES THE FOLLOWING BASIC
PRINCIPLES PROVIDE THE ELEMENTS OF AN AGREEMENT SERVING
THE NEEDS OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY AND MEETING THE
LEGITIMATE REQUIREMENTS OF NATIONS PARTICIPATING IN
THE CONFERENCE.

FREEDOM OF NAVIGATION:

FREEDOM OF NAVIGATION AND COMMUNICATION MUST
BE PRESERVED AND MUST INCLUDE THE RIGHT OF UNIMPEDED
TRANSIT FOR ALL VESSELS AND AIRCRAFT THROUGH, UNDER,
AND OVER STRAITS USED FOR INTERNATIONAL NAVIGATION.
FOR US, THIS IS AN ESSENTIAL ELEMENT OF A SUCCESS-
FUL TREATY. ...DELETION...(ATTEMPTS TO DENY VITAL ACCESS
TO HIGH SEAS AREAS WOULD BE SERIOUSLY DESTABILIZING BOTH FOR
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THE LITTORAL STATES AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. THE
PRINCIPLE OF FREEDOM OF NAVIGATION IS CRUCIAL FOR ALL WHO
IMPORT FOOD, DEPEND ON FOREIGN OIL OR RELY ON REVENUES
FROM EXPORTS.)

THE TERRITORIAL SEA:

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ACTION SS-25

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O 191435Z APR 75

FM U S MISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 2240

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 2 OF 2 GENEVA 2751

FROM US DEL LOS, AMBASSADORS STEVENSON AND MOORE

FOR T-MR. MAW AND S/P-MR. LORD ONLY

STADIS/EXDIS////////////////////////////////////

A 12-MILE TERRITORIAL SEA SHOULD BE RECOGNIZED,
SUBJECT TO THE PRINCIPLE OF UNIMPEDED TRANSIT OF
STRAITS USED FOR INTERNATIONAL NAVIGATION.

ECONOMIC ZONE:

A BROADER OFFSHORE "ECONOMIC ZONE" SHOULD BE
ESTABLISHED OUT TO 200 MILES. WITHIN THE ZONE, THE
COASTAL STATE WOULD HAVE SOVEREIGN RIGHTS TO EXPLORE,
EXPLOIT, CONSERVE AND MANAGE LIVING AND NON-LIVING
RESOURCES. FREEDOM OF NAVIGATION AND OVERFLIGHT
AND OTHER RECOGNIZED HIGH SEAS USES (MUST) BE PRE-
SERVED.

COASTAL STATES SHOULD CONSERVE FISHERIES AND
PERMIT OTHER STATES TO FISH IN THE ECONOMIC ZONE
WHEN THE COASTAL STATE CANNOT FULLY UTILIZE ITS
FISH STOCKS. THIS IS CRUCIAL IF WE ARE TO ENSURE
MAXIMUM PROTEIN SUPPLIES FOR THE WORLD IN BOTH THE
SHORT AND LONG TERM. (SPECIAL PROVISIONS SHOULD BE
ESTABLISHED FOR CONSERVATION AND MANAGEMENT OF FISH
THAT DO NOT STAY WITHIN THE ZONE, SUCH AS TUNA AND
SALMON.) (IF COASTAL STATES COULD SHARE WITH THE
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INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY SOME OF THE REVENUES FROM THE
RESOURCES IN THE AREA OF THE CONTINENTAL MARGIN BEYOND
299 MILES, IT COULD FACILITATE AGREEMENT ON COASTAL STATE
CONTROL OVER THESE RESOURCES.)

DEEP SEABEDS:

A (REGIME) MUST BE ESTABLISHED TO ENCOURAGE
THE RECOVERY OF MANGANESE NODULES AND OTHER MINERAL
RESOURCES LOCATED IN THE DEEP SEABED. THE UNITED
NATIONS IN 1970 DECLARED THESE RESOURCES THE "COMMON

HERITAGE OF MANKIND". THE UNITED STATES VOTED FOR THAT RESOLUTION, AND FIRMLY BELIEVES THAT THE TREATY MUST ENCOURAGE (RECOVERY OF THESE RESOURCES) BY ALL NATIONS FOR THE BENEFIT OF ALL NATIONS.

GOVERNING THE EXPLOITATION OF DEEP SEABED RESOURCES IS ONE OF THE MORE INTRACTABLE PROBLEMS TO BE RESOLVED AT GENEVA. A BASIS FOR PARTICIPATION BY ALL MUST BE FOUND. NO NATION OR GROUP OF NATIONS SHOULD ARBITRARILY BE DENIED THE RIGHT TO ENGAGE IN EXPLOITATION. (ON THE ONE HAND, ACCESS TO THESE MINERALS SHOULD NOT BE BURDENED BY UNREASONABLE CONDITIONS; ON THE OTHER, A BASIS FOR EFFECTIVE PARTICIPATION BY DEVELOPING COUNTRIES MUST BE FOUND.) (ANY ANY INTERNATIONAL AUTHORITY TO GOVERN SEABED MINERAL RESOURCES SHOULD REFLECT A RATIONAL BALANCING OF INTERESTS--A BALANCE WHICH CORRESPONDS TO THE CONTRIBUTIONS WHICH COUNTRIES MAKE TO THE SUCCESS OF THE INSTITUTION AND TO THE NEEDS OF THE WORLD'S GROWING POPULATION.)

THE UNITED STATES STANDS READY TO NEGOTIATE A SOUND AND EQUITABLE SOLUTION TO THIS PROBLEM.

THE MARINE ENVIRONMENT:

THE MARINE ENVIRONMENT MUST BE PROTECTED...DELETION... BY (NEW) INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL STANDARDS AND BY EFFECTIVE ENFORCEMENT OF SUCH STANDARDS WITHOUT DISRUPTION TO NAVIGATION. (NEITHER THE MARINE ENVIRONMENT NOR NAVIGATION CAN BE EFFECTIVELY SAFEGUARDED BY A PATCHWORK OF NATIONAL STANDARDS. A CONVENTION WHICH LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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FULLY PROTECTS BOTH THE MARINE ENVIRONMENT AND NAVIGATION IS AMONG THE MOST IMPORTANT CHALLENGES TO THE CONFERENCE.)

MARINE SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH: MARINE SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH IS ESSENTIAL TO MAN'S ENLIGHTENED USE OF THE OCEANS, AND FREEDOM TO CONDUCT SUCH RESEARCH MUST BE PRESERVED. THE WORLD'S KNOWLEDGE OF OCEAN SPACE MUST BE EXPANDED AND THE RESULTS OF RESEARCH DISSEMINATED TO ALL STATES. LEGITIMATE INTERESTS OF COASTAL STATES IN PARTICIPATING AND SHARING IN THE RESULTS OF THIS RESEARCH CONDUCTED WITHIN THE COASTAL ZONE (SHOULD) BE PROTECTED, BUT UNNECESSARY RESTRICTIONS WILL ONLY RETARD OUR EFFORTS TO DEVELOP A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF THE OCEANS.

SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES:

FINALLY, THERE MUST BE EFFECTIVE INTERNATIONAL MACHINERY FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF FUTURE DISPUTES OVER THE INTERPRETATION AND APPLICATION OF THE TERMS OF A LAW OF THE SEA TREATY AND THE EFFECTIVE ACCOMMODATION OF COMPETING USES OF THE SAME OCEAN SPACE. WE REGARD THIS AS AN ESSENTIAL COMPONENT OF A VIABLE AND STABLE INTERNATIONAL (ORDER) FOR THE OCEANS.

(CONCLUSION)

THE ISSUES OF THE LAW OF THE SEA CONFERENCE ARE THE ISSUES OF THE EIGHTIES AND BEYOND: THEY ARE COMPLEX; NO NATION CAN EVADE THEM NOR RESOLVE THEM ALONE; THEY ILLUSTRATE THE CONCEPT OF INTERDEPENDENCE AND THE REQUIREMENT FOR CONCERTED INTERNATIONAL ACTION; THEY BEAR DIRECTLY ON THE FUTURE STABILITY AND PROSPERITY OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY. THEY MUST BE RESOLVED.

THE DEPLORABLE COLLAPSE OF THE PREPARATORY ENERGY CONFERENCE IN PARIS LAST WEEK GIVES US LITTLE GROUND FOR OPTIMISM, BUT GOOD REASON FOR ALL CONCERNED NATIONS TO REDOUBLE THEIR EFFORTS AT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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GENEVA.

THE GENEVA SESSION IS NOW IN ITS SIXTH WEEK. THE COOPERATION AMONG THE PARTICIPATING NATIONS AND THE PROGRESS TO DATE INDICATE THAT A GENERAL DESIRE EXISTS TO MAKE PROGRESS DESPITE MAJOR DIFFICULTIES. THIS DESIRE NOW MUST BE TRANSLATED INTO AN EFFECTIVE POLITICAL AGREEMENT AND FINALLY INTO DRAFT TREATY LANGUAGE.

....DELETION...

A SUCCESSFUL GENEVA CONFERENCE WOULD BE AN IMPORTANT BREAKTHROUGH IN MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY, AN INDICATION (THAT) NATIONS OF THE WORLD HAVE THE SPIRIT AND WILL TO WORK TOGETHER, COMPROMISE DIFFERENCES, AND SEEK ACCOMMODATION ON THE MOST PRESSING ISSUES OF GLOBAL CONCERN.

BUT IF THIS CONFERENCE FAILS (TO MAKE PROGRESS,) IT WILL RAISE SERIOUS QUESTIONS ABOUT THE FUTURE EFFICACY OF THE UNITED NATIONS SYSTEM.DELETION... THE ALTERNATIVE TO (PROGRESS) AT GENEVA WILL BE A RETURN TO UNILATERAL ACTION--A WELTER OF CONFLICTING NATIONAL

CLAIMS TO BROAD EXPANSES OF OCEAN SPACE AND RESOURCES
HERETOFORE (FREELY AVAILABLE TO ALL STATES.) IN SUCH
A SITUATION THE UNITED STATES WILL BE READY AND ABLE
TO LOOK AFTER ITS OWN INTERESTS, BUT THE CAUSE OF A
PEACEFUL, EQUITABLE AND PROSPEROUS WORLD COMMUNITY WILL
NOT BE SERVED.

THIS IS AN OUTCOME THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY CAN
ILL AFFORD, AND ONE THE UNITED STATES SEEKS TO PREVENT.
...DELETION...

PRESIDENT FORD HAS EXPRESSED HIS STRONG HOPE FOR
AN EARLY CONCLUSION OF A SUCCESSFUL, COMPREHENSIVE
LAW OF THE SEA TREATY. THE UNITED STATES WILL MAKE
EVERY EFFORT AT ACCOMMODATION TO ACHIEVE THIS GOAL,
AND WE (URGE) OTHER NATIONS TO JOIN WITH US IN THIS
EFFORT. (AT THE REQUEST OF PRESIDENT FORD I HAVE
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ASKED THE UNITED STATES NEGOTIATORS IN GENEVA,
AMBASSADORS JOHN R. STEVENSON AND JOHN NORTON MOORE,
TO (EXPLORE NEW APPROACHES) IN THE CRUCIAL OUTSTANDING
AREAS, WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF OUR VITAL INTERESTS, BUT
AT THE SAME TIME MOVING TOWARD A BROAD ACCOMMODATION
OF THE KEY NEEDS OF ALL GROUPS OF COUNTRIES.)

(NO NATION CAN FINALLY ESCAPE THE COMMON DESTINY
OF THE ENTIRE GLOBE.) I AM CONFIDENT THAT (THE
PARTICIPATING NATIONS SHARE) THE FORESIGHT, GOOD WILL,
AND DETERMINATION TO REACH AGREEMENT.
OUR SUSTENANCE, OUR SECURITY, OUR SURVIVAL AS A PLANET
REQUIRES IT. THIS HAS BEEN EVIDENT SINCE THE TIME OF
HOMER, WHOSE ILIAD TELLS US THAT IT IS THE "OCEAN WHO
IS THE SOURCE OF ALL." WE MUST NOT LOSE SIGHT OF THE
FACT THAT THE FUTURE OF MAN IS IRREVOCABLY LINKED
TO THE FUTURE OF THE OCEAN.DALE

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